

Message Text

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PAGE 01 VIENNA 04122 01 OF 02 200324Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 4122

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DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS WHITE HOUSE, ATTN: DR. BRZEZINSKI

DEPT PASS GENEVA EYES ONLY FOR SECRETARY VANCE

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, OVIP, (MONDALE, WALTER F.) US, SF, RH
SUBJECT: FIRST MEETING BETWEEN VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE AND
PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, MORNING, MAY 19

SUMMARY: DURING INITIAL SESSION, ON RHODESIA, VICE PRESIDENT
MONDALE SET FORTH U.S. SUPPORT FOR OWEN INITIATIVE AND
EFFORTS TO DRAFT A CONSTITUTION WITH CLEAR GUARANTEES FOR
ALL, WHICH WILL LEAD TO FREE ELECTIONS WITH FULL PARTICIPATION,
AND INDEPENDENCE FOR ZIMBABWE DURING 1978. VORSTER STATED
THAT HE HAD NOT KNOWN OF CHANGE IN U.S. ATTITUDE CONCERNING
CONCEPT OF ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND AND THAT SOUTH AFRICA
WOULD NOW HAVE TO RESERVE ITS POSITION. VORSTER BLAMED
NATIONALISTS FOR VIOLENCE AND FAILURE OF EARLIER EFFORTS
TO REACH RHODISIAN SETTLEMENT. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING INITIAL PHOTO SESSION AT HOFBURG CONFERENCE
ROOM, VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE, JOINED BY AARON, AND
PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, JOINED BY BOTHA, MET PRIVATELY
AS PER EARLIER AGREEMENT. DURING THAT SESSION,
WHICH LASTED APPROXIMATELY 35 MINUTES, VORSTER OPENED BY
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PAGE 02 VIENNA 04122 01 OF 02 200324Z

CRITICIZING PRESIDENT CARTER'S STATEMENT EARLIER THIS
WEEK ON THE NEED FOR CHANGE IN SOUTHER AFRICA, THEN
TURNED TO A REQUEST FOR MORE C-130'S AND SHACKLETON SPARE
PARTS.

2. PRINCIPLES THEN RETURNED TO OPEN SESSION. ON SOUTH
AFRICAN SIDE WERE, IN ADDITION TO VORSTER AND BOTHA,

VAN DEN BERGH, FOURIE, SOLE, FRANKLIN, AND EKSTEEN.
WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT AND AARON WERE AMBASSADORS BOWDLER
AND MCHENRY, LAKE, CLIFT, JOHNSON, AND KATZEN. AS AGREED,
OPENING SESSION WAS DEVOTED TO DISCUSSION OF RHODESIA,
AND LASTED 2 HOURS.

3. SOUTHERN RHODESIA: VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE SET FORTH
USG SUPPORT FOR FOREIGN SECRETARY OWENS' INITIATIVE AND
EFFORTS TO DRAFT A CONSTITUTION WHICH WILL LEAD TO FREE
ELECTIONS AND INDEPENDENCE FOR ZIMBABWE DURING 1978.
WHILE THE ORIGINAL SUGGESTION WAS TO HAVE A CONSTITUTIONAL
CONFERENCE AS PART OF THE PROCESS, HE SAID WE NOW ARE
BEGINNING BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE HOPE THAT A
CONSENSUS WILL RESULT CONCERNING A CONSTITUTION. WE HAVE
APPOINTED A SENIOR AMERICAN DIPLOMAT, AMBASSADOR LOW, TO
PARTICIPATE IN THE PROCESS. WE HOPE THAT SOUTH AFRICA WILL
ENCOURAGE SMITH TO WORK WITH THE PROCESS, SUPPORTING
FREE ELECTIONS WITH ALL PARTICIPATING, AND AN
INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT IN ZIMBABWE IN 1978.
WE HAVE NOT DEVELOPED DETAILS CONCERNING THE
CONSTITUTION; THESE ARE FOR THE CONSULTATIVE PROCESS
TO DETERMINE. THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP WILL BE IN
SALISBURY, MAY 2223.

4. VORSTER REVIEWED EATIER SMITH EFFORTS TO REACH A
SOLUTION, BEGINNING IN 1973. HE OUTLINED SOUTH AFRICAN
STEPS TO BRING THE PARTIES TOGETHER, INCLUDING THE
LIBERATION OF NKOMO AND SITHOLE. SOUTH AFRICA AT ALL
TIMES HAS BEEN PREPARED TO HELP, AND IS PREPARED NOW.
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SECRET

PAGE 03 VIENNA 04122 01 OF 02 200324Z

SMITH IS WILLING TO FIND A SOLUTION; HE WILL ACCEPT
MAJORITY RULE, WHICH MEANS BLACK RULE. BUT WITH WHOM
IS HE TO NEGOTIATE? GENEVA SHOWED HOW SPLIT THE
NATIONALISTS ARE. MUGABE HAS A 2-3 PERCENT FOLLOWING;
NKOMA 10-12 PERCENT, MUZOREWA 70 PERCENT; AND CHIRAU,
THE REST. SOUTH AFRICA, THOUGH, WILL NOT STAND IN THE WAY
OF A SOLUTION. INDICATIVE OF THAT WERE VORSTER'S
"CONFIDENTIAL" TALKS WITH CHIVANDUKA IN CAPETOWN, TWO
MONTHS AGO.

5. VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE COMMENTED THAT PRECISELY BECAUSE
OF THE MANY DIFFERENT GROUPS HAVING DIFFERENT OBJECTIVES,
IT WAS DESIRABLE TO PROCEED NOW WITH A PROCESS WHICH
WOULD LEAD TO A CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT.
BUT, WE DO NOT WISH TO CHOOSE THE LEADERS. VORSTER
INTERJECTED THAT IF AN ELECTION WERE HELD TOMORROW
IN RHODESIA, MUSOREWA WOULD BE ELECTED OVERWHELMINGLY.
VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE REPLIED THAT THE CRUCIAL ELEMENT
IS NOT WHO IS ELECTED BUT THAT THE ELECTIONS ARE HELD,

IN A SPIRIT OF FAIRNESS, EQUALITY, AND INTEGRITY.
THIS IS OUR OBJECTIVE, AND WE BELIEVE IT WILL LEAD TO
THE CREATION OF A MODERATE GOVERNMENT. HE AGAIN
APPEALED TO SOUTH AFRICA TO INFLUENCE SMITH TO ACCEPT
THE PROCESS AND THE RESULTS OF FAIR ELECTIONS. WE
WILL ENCOURAGE THOSE WITH WHOM WE HAVE INFLUENCE.

6. VORSTER STATED THAT SMITH ALREADY HAD ACCEPTED
THE PROCESS, WHICH HAD CAUSED A REBELLION WITHIN HIS OWN
POLITICAL PARTY. THE QUESTION REMAINS: TO WHOM SHOULD
HE TURN OVER POWER? THE IDEAL WOULD BE A REFERENDUM
AMONG BLACKS TO CHOOSE A LEADER WHO, IN TURN, WOULD
NEGOTIATE THE TURNOVER WITH SMITH. VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE SAID THAT
THE BLACKS HAVE ALREADY REJECTED THIS "INTERNAL OPTION",
AND THE OWEN MISSION SEEKS TO CIRCUMVENT THAT VERY
PROCESS. WE REJECT THE INTERNAL OPTION. WE ARE NOT AS
SURE AS VORSTER THAT SMITH HAS FULLY ACCEPTED THE PROCESS.

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SECRET

PAGE 04 VIENNA 04122 01 OF 02 200324Z

VORSTER REPLIED THAT IN SMITH'S AND KISSIGNER'S PRESENCE,
HE, VORSTER, HAD SPECIFICALLY SAID THAT IF SMITH DID NOT
ADHERE TO THE FIVE POINTS SMITH HAD ACCEPTED, VORSTER
WOULD DROP HIM. VORSTER ADDED THAT HE ALSO HAD
SAID HE WOULD GUARANTEE SMITH HONORED HIS COMMITMENTS.
"I CAN'T DO ANY MORE", HE ADDED. "IF SMITH AGREES
TO THE ELECTION PROCESS, I WILL SUPPORT THE RESULTS".

7. THE VICE PRESIDENT CONCLUDED THAT AGREEMENT SEEMED
TO EXIST NOW ON THAT POINT. HE ADDED THAT WHILE WE
SEEK MAJORITY RULE, WE DO NOT SAY THAT THIS NECESSARILY MEANS
BLACK MAJORITY RULE. BLACKS OFTEN ARE ELECTED IN
PRIMARILY WHITE ELECTORATES AND VICE VERSA, IN THE
UNITED STATES. VORSTER WAS QUICK TO RESPOND THAT ONE
COULD NOT EQUATE THE UNITED STATES SITUATION TO THAT
EXISTING IN EITHER RHODESIA OR SOUTH AFRICA.

8. VORSTER ADDED THAT A GUARANTEE STILL WAS NEEDED FOR
WHITES AND ASKED FOR IT FROM THE VICE PRESIDENT OR OWEN.
THE VICE PRESIDENT REPLIED THAT THE MORE PROMPT THE
PROGRESS TO HONEST MAJORITY GOVERNMENT, WITH
CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTION OF PERSONAL LIBERTIES, PROPERTY,
RELIGION, AND INDIVIDUAL CHOICE, WITH AN INDEPENDENT
JUDICIARY, THE MORE ATTRACTIVE IT WOULD BE FOR ALL TO
REMAIN IN RHODESIA. THESE RIGHTS WOULD GUARANTEE WHAT THE
WHITES SEEK. VORSTER RESPONDED THAT SUCH CONSTITUTIONAL
GUARANTEES WOULD NOT MEAN ANYTHING, BUT THAT IF THE
AMERICANS STATED THAT THEIR OBJECTIVES INCLUDED SUCH
CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES, THE WHITE RHODESIANS AND THE
MAJORITY OF BLACK RHODESIANS WOULD ACCEPT. SO WOULD

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PAGE 01 VIENNA 04122 02 OF 02 200351Z
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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 4122

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DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS WHITE HOUSE, ATTN: DR. BRZEZINSKI

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THE SAG. SUCH ASSURANCES, COUPLED WITH
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ZIMBABWE FUND (AND ITS
INCLUSION IN THE CONSTITUTION) WOULD LEAD TO A
SETTLEMENT. "IF YOU CAN GUARANTEE NKOMO AND MUGABE
FALL INTO LINE", HE SAID, "I WILL GUARANTEE SMITH
DOES".

9. THE VICE PRESIDENT REPLIED THAT WHILE WE CAN'T
GUARANTEE RESULTS, OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO PURSUE THE OWEN

MISSION AND, AS PART OF THE PROCESS TRY TO GAIN FRONT
LINE SUPPORT, AND DO WHAT WE CAN TO SUPPORT AN INDEPENDENT
GOVERNMENT ONCE IT IS ESTABLISHED. SPECIFICALLY WE ASK
VORSTER:

A) FOR SAG SUPPORT, HOPEFULLY PUBLICLY, FOR THE
OWEN MISSION;

B) TO PRESS SMITH TO NEGOTIATE FOR MAJORITY RULE,
ATTAINED THROUGH FAIR ELECTIONS, IN 1978;

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 04122 02 OF 02 200351Z

C) TO OBTAIN SMITH'S AGREEMENT TO INDEPENDENCE
AT THAT DATE;

D) FOR SOUTH AFRICA TO WORK AS WE WILL WITH A
ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT THUS CHOSEN;

E) TO HELP IN REDUCING TENSIONS WHICH TEAR AT
THAT PROCESS.

10. VORSTER CAME UP SHARPLY, SAYING THAT HE DID NOT
LIKE THE WORD "PRESSURE", THAT HE HAD NEVER PRESSED
SMITH; INSTEAD, "I TALK SENSE TO HIM". VORSTER
REITERATED THAT THE PROBLEM IN RHODESIA
IS NOT SMITH, BUT THE NATIONALISTS. HE RETURNED
TO HIS ARGUMENT FAVORING AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT
IN RHODESIA THEN, FEIGNING COMPROMISE, SAID HE WOULD
ACCEPT HIS SECOND CHOICE, WHICH WOULD BE ALONG THE
LINES OF OWEN'S PROPOSAL. BUT, THE CONSTITUTION,
HE REPEATED, WOULD HAVE TO INCLUDE ALL ELEMENTS THE VICE
PRESIDENT HAD DESCRIBED AND US/UK GUARANTEES THAT THE
ELECTED GOVERNMENTS WOULD BE UPHELD AND NOT BE OVERTHROWN
FROM THE OUTSIDE, AND THAT SANCTIONS WOULD BE LIFTED.

11. RETURNING TO THE QUESTION OF THE ZIMBABWE FUND,
THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID THAT HE ENVISAGED IT AS HELPING
IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, GROWTH, INFRASTRUCTURE, AND
TRAINING; THAT WAS THE PATH TO ECONOMIC STABILITY. WE
ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER OTHER KINDS OF HELP TO STRENGTHEN
AGAINST THE FEARS AND THREATS VORSTER HAS MENTIONED.
WE CANNOT GUARANTEE THAT THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE WILL
CHOOSE A GOVERNMENT THAT WILL RENOUNCE ALL PUBLIC
OWNERSHIP. BUT, THE CONSTITUTION WOULD INCORPORATE
GUARANTEES ON CONFISCATION. THE FUND ITSELF CANNOT BE
USED SIMPLY TO BUY OUT WHITES.

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SECRET

PAGE 03 VIENNA 04122 02 OF 02 200351Z

12. BOTHA REACTED IN A PATENTLY OVER-DRAMATIC FASHION.
HE DESCRIBED AGREEMENTS AS HAVING BEEN REACHED IN THE
DEPARTMENT WHEREBY THE FUND WAS TO HAVE A COMPENSATORY
FUNCTION. HE SAID THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD BEEN TOLD THERE
WERE TO BE FORMAL GUARANTEES THAT A "SLIDING
SCALE" OF COMPENSATIONS WOULD BE PAID IF THINGS
WENT BADLY AND WHITE RHODESIANS WANTED TO LEAVE.
THE VICE PRESIDENT CONFIRMED THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT
HAD CHANGED ITS THINKING ON THIS. BOTHA CLAIMED THIS
WAS THE FIRST TIME HE HAD HEARD OF IT, THAT HE HAD
TOLD THE PRIME MINISTER THAT THE FUND WAS "STILL
ALIVE". THE VICE PRESIDENT REPLIED THAT IT IS, BUT THAT

IT IS NOT A SAFETY NET OR A "BUY OUT" FUND; INSTEAD, THE FUND WOULD BE USED TO HELP ENSURE FAIR TREATMENT AND BUILD CONFIDENCE. CONGRESS WOULD NOT SUPPORT A "BUY OUT" FUND. BOTHA RETORTED THAT THIS WAS "A DRAMATIC AND RADICAL CHANGE". LAKE AND AARON THEN OUTLINED OUR PHILOSOPHY OF THE FUND. THE SOUTH AFRICANS REPLIED THAT THE BRITISH HAD NOT TOLD THEM OF ANY CHANGE. BOTHA AND VORSTER WENT ON AT LENGTH ABOUT HOW THIS "CHANGE" PUT THE WHOLE QUESTION OF A RHODESIA SETTLEMENT IN JEOPARDY.

13. THE VICE PRESIDENT AGREED TO LOOK INTO THE QUESTION AT LUNCH TIME, AND TURNED TO THE MATTER OF INCURSIONS BY SMITH FORCES. VORSTER ACKNOWLEDGED THAT BOTH SIDES WERE ESCALATING THE VIOLENCE AND STRESSED THAT ON MANY OCCASIONS SOUTH AFRICA HAD SERVED AS CHANNEL TO COMMUNICATE APPEALS TO SMITH. BUT, VORSTER ADDED, RHODESIA HAS RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT ITS OWN POPULATION, AND FRONT LINE STATES MUST DO THEIR PART TO RESTRAIN NATIONALISTS. VICE PRESIDENT SAID THAT AS PRACTICAL MATTER, THE SITUATION WILL NOT IMPROVE UNLESS THERE IS PROGRESS TOWARD ELECTIONS AND INDEPENDENCE. VICE PRESIDENT AND VORSTER AGREED THAT U.S. AND SAG WOULD USE
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SECRET

PAGE 04 VIENNA 04122 02 OF 02 200351Z

WHAT INFLUENCE THEY HAVE ON BOTH SIDES. BEFORE BREAKING FOR LUNCH, VICE PRESIDENT AND VORSTER AGREED NOT TO SPEAK TO PRESS AT THIS TIME. MEEHAN

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